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AND  
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# ANCIENT ROMAN GARDENS



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# Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture

BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY

I am an archaeologist, rather than a philologist or an ancient historian; my contribution to this symposium therefore should lie in presenting hard, excavational evidence from Greek sites, not in advancing theories, however plausible, or in discussing literary sources on gardens and their sculpture that others have already collected and reviewed.<sup>1</sup> Taken in these terms, my presentation could be very brief indeed, since archaeological remains are virtually non-existent: when epigraphical mentions or traces of gardens are discovered, there is usually no accompanying sculpture, and when suitable sculpture is found, no garden lies at hand. Yet Pierre Grimal could state that no garden art worthy of the name could ever have developed in Rome without Greek influence,<sup>2</sup> and this belief may seem supported by the many statues of Greek inspiration, and perhaps origin, that adorned the villas of Pompeii and Herculaneum, or by the complex groups in Hellenistic style that once peopled the dramatic landscape of the Sperlonga grotto.<sup>3</sup> I shall therefore try to review our present knowledge of both types of sculptural adornment: that connected with

<sup>1</sup> This paper was delivered with the help of many slides; the sequence of arguments is therefore geared to the dictates of visual presentation rather than to the firmer structure of a written article.

To some extent my comments may seem to run counter to the theories of sculpture in landscape advanced in my previous publication: "The Setting of Greek Sculpture," *Hesperia*, 40 (1971), 336-356. There, however, I was more directly concerned with the various ways of displaying sculpture, rather than with the presence of gardens proper.

The major works on gardens are: the article by F. Olck in August Friedrich von Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1894-1940), VII, cols. 767-841, s.v. "Gartenbau"; the entry by Lucia Guerrini in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale* (Rome, 1958-1966) III, cols. 882-884, s.v. "Giardino"; Pierre Grimal, *Les Jardins Romains*, 2d rev. ed. (Paris, 1969), esp. chap. 3, 63-98; and Dorothy Burr Thompson and Ralph E. Griswold, *Garden Lore of Ancient Athens*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Book 8 (Princeton, 1963). A great deal of information is also contained in Dorothy Burr Thompson's "Ancient Gardens in Greece and Italy," *Archaeology*, 4 (1951), 41-47; and her "The Garden of Hephaistos," *Hesperia*, 6 (1937), 396-425.

<sup>2</sup> Grimal, *Les Jardins*, 63.

<sup>3</sup> The most recent account on the arrangement of the Sperlonga sculpture is: B. Conticello and B. Andreae, "Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga," *Antike Plastik*, 14 (1974). On the chronological controversy see, e.g., Peter von Blanckenhagen in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 80 (1976), 99-104. The bibliography on the subject is constantly increasing.

the "domesticated" garden of a private house and that intended to supplement a more spontaneous, natural setting.

The locus classicus for Greek houses is the city of Olynthos in the Chalkidike.<sup>4</sup> Founded around 432 B.C., the city was destroyed in 348 B.C., perhaps not as thoroughly as usually believed but certainly enough to stop elaborate construction. The houses there were arranged in blocks, each block containing two rows of five houses back-to-back and separated by a narrow longitudinal alleyway. Each house had a courtyard providing light and air to the broad north portico (*pastas*) and the rooms opening into it, but in each case this open area was found paved with cobblestones, so no garden could have been included. This particular arrangement is not typical of Olynthos alone, nor can the lack of vegetation be attributed to the rigors of the northern climate. Recent excavations at the Sicilian site of Himera<sup>5</sup> (planned along a grid pattern in the first quarter of the fifth century and, again, substantially destroyed in 409 B.C.) have revealed a similar pattern of housing blocks (*insulae*) subdivided by service alleys. The *pastas* is omitted, presumably because of the milder weather, and great difference exists in the arrangement of the inner courtyard. This, however, is invariably paved or covered with clay and beaten earth.

Both Himera and Olynthos, with their grid plans, suggest a democratic division of the land that afforded relatively limited scope for the establishment of the occasional mansion with palatial garden. It could in fact be argued that true villas occur only in aristocratic societies, where just a few rich individuals can afford the luxury. The common man, struggling for a living, will be contented with tilling his fields at some distance from his home, and his domestic garden may remain of the potted variety, for strictly utilitarian purposes. Fully attested for the Persian palaces is the existence of park-like gardens, the famous *para-deisoi*, which were copied by the Assyrians and greatly admired by the Greeks when they first came into contact with the Persian estates during the fifth century. The theory is supported by what the literary sources

<sup>4</sup> A concise account on Olynthos by J. W. Graham, with the most important bibliography, appears in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), 651-652.

<sup>5</sup> Himera: besides the account by Nicola Bonacasa in the *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 393; and the volumes of the official publication of the site which have appeared to date (*Himera I and II* [Rome, 1970-1976]); see N. Bonacasa, "Himera, A Greek City of Sicily," *Archaeology*, 29 (1976), 42-51; and J. W. Graham, "Notes on Houses and Housing-districts at Abdera and Himera," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 76 (1972), 295-301.

tell us about the rulers of Syracuse, who resembled Oriental potentates in many ways. Hieron II (ruled 269–215 B.C.) seems to have had a pleasure garden even on his boat, the *Syracusia*, which he donated to Ptolemy III. In earlier times, Dionysios the elder (405–367 B.C.) is known to have kept a *paradeisos* at Rhegion, on the Italian mainland, while even earlier Gelon of Syracuse (485–476 B.C.) had a park containing an Amaltheion, which was probably an elaborate *nymphaion*. Yet no archaeological evidence exists for these gardens, and the luxuriant vegetation of today's *latomie* bears no resemblance to the appearance of those same stone quarries at the time when the Athenian prisoners labored in them, at least according to Thucydides' account.<sup>6</sup>

For the later fourth century and the Hellenistic period we have the evidence of Priene (built ca. 350 B.C.) in Asia Minor.<sup>7</sup> Here the houses have an open courtyard with a porch fronting the main room (*prostas*), and more elaborate versions of Hellenistic date show the addition of columns on all sides of the court, but again no evidence for gardens exists. Sculpture in terracotta and marble has been recovered from several of the rooms and the scale is small, so the figures probably served as decoration for the upper stories rather than for open spaces. The city plan included an empty space near the walls, adjacent to the Palaistra, and the modern architect who made the city model has filled it with trees. Their existence is not impossible, given the presence of a water source nearby, but it remains conjectural. Because of the rocky nature of the slope and the limited space available on it, all cultivation seems to have taken place outside the city walls, on the plain of the Maeander.

More or less similar conditions are found at Delos, our main source of information for Hellenistic houses.<sup>8</sup> There a peristyle court is a common feature, but it is usually floored with mosaic or a less elaborate type of paving. In some cases this forms the covering for an underlying

<sup>6</sup> Thucydides 7.23.87. Reference to all other ancient authors who are our sources for the information related in this paragraph can be found in the general works cited *supra*, n.1. For Persian gardens see the extensive excavational evidence recently published by David Stronach, *Pasargadae: A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford, 1978), 107–112.

<sup>7</sup> Priene: G. E. Bean in the *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 737–739. The main publication is by Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin, 1904).

<sup>8</sup> Delos: P. Bruneau in the *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 261–264; René Vallois, *L'Architecture hellénique e hellénistique à Délos* (Paris, 1944), 206–220; convenient plans and summaries in Philippe Bruneau and Jean Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1966), from which are taken the numbers of individual buildings mentioned in the discussion *infra*.



cistern collecting rain water from the sloping roofs, more or less like a Roman impluvium—an understandable arrangement given the lack of water sources on Delos, which also precludes the presence of extensive house gardens. Sculpture of larger, life-size, scale has been found in some of the Delian habitations, for instance in the House of the Diadoumenos, so called because of the important replica of Polykleitos's work which was found there. But together with it was also found the statue of a naked athlete with a portrait head that clearly identifies him as Roman;<sup>9</sup> we are therefore already in the period of Roman influence, and such late practices cannot be taken as indicative of Greek taste. Other houses have yielded herms, which are, however, appropriate at the entrance to any building. The well-known bronze head in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens is once again a portrait of a Roman: it was found in the so-called Palaistra of Granite, however within Room S, not in the peristyle.<sup>10</sup> The building is so elaborate that it must have had some sort of public function; yet the other public buildings of Delos, the Gymnasion and the Stadion, areas traditionally planted with trees and adorned with statues, have produced no sculpture beyond the usual herms.

A special site seems to be the island of Rhodes, which owes its very name to the flower that was extensively cultivated there.<sup>11</sup> Ancient sailors boasted that, like modern Hershey, they could smell the city before they saw it; yet this information has not been substantiated by excavational evidence. Moreover the rose gardens of Rhodes should be visualized as commercial enterprises rather than as pleasure areas connected with houses. A few pieces of Hellenistic sculpture found on the

<sup>9</sup> House of the Diadoumenos: Bruneau and Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, no. 61; it is one of the most opulent houses on the island. The Diadoumenos in Athens: Athens Archaeological National Museum no. 1826. Athlete with Roman portrait head: Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 1828. The Hellenistic sculpture of Delos has been recently discussed by Jean Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris, 1969); the "athlete" is illustrated on pl. 72.

<sup>10</sup> Palaistra of Granite: Bruneau and Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, no. 66. The bronze head is Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 14612; for illustrations see Reinhard Lullies and Max Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*, rev. ed. (New York, 1960), pl. xi and fig. 274.

<sup>11</sup> Rhodes: R. E. Wycherley in the *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 755-758. Recent excavations have thrown no particular light on gardens. The extensive cultivation of the rose in antiquity is amply discussed in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII, cols. 767-841. The reference to rose gardens cultivated by King Midas of Macedon in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, III, cols. 882-884, seems based on an ambiguous statement by Herodotos (8.139) who alludes to the Phrygian Midas "in whose gardens Silenus was caught" as if he were in Macedonia; at any rate, the roses are said to grow wild, rather than being cultivated.

island are particularly suggestive of pools and fountains, presumably within peristyles, but the connection cannot be made on excavational evidence. A nymph slipping off her rocky pedestal (Fig. 1) looks, for instance, as if she were dipping her foot in water; yet the piece is small in scale (half life-size) and it was found by chance, in 1922, by local workmen building a school, so no accurate information exists as to its ancient setting.<sup>12</sup> A reclining satyr, because of its piping, clearly served as a fountain, but again no information exists as to its original setting.<sup>13</sup>

It has, however, been claimed that the Rhodians were particularly sensitive to the appeal of natural landscape, and a strong case has been made on three grounds.<sup>14</sup> The first is the existence of statue bases shaped like natural rocks, occasionally with one area smoothed out to carry an inscription (Fig. 2); such bases are quite different from the rocky seats carved in one with the human figure, which we have just considered and which are frequent in Hellenistic art. The statue was instead standing *on top* of the pedestal, from which it was visually separate. Epigraphical evidence places one of these bases before 200 B.C., others within the first half of the second century, so that no Roman connections can be suspected.

The second point has been made on the basis of an extensive park utilizing the natural layout of a rocky area south of the city of Rhodes and crossed by a stream, at a site called Rhodini (Fig. 3). Rock-cut steps and benches, grottoes and niches which presumably once housed sculpture, and the presence of an altar convey the impression of a "romantic landscape," which is even today filled with trees and breezes. No chronological indication exists since none of the objects once embellishing the park has been recovered, but the presence within the park of some rock-cut graves which might be Hellenistic (one elaborate tomb-facade is nick-named "Ptolemaic") is used to support a third-to-second century B.C. date for the whole.

<sup>12</sup> Nymph on rock: Rhodes Archaeological Museum no. 5228; Gloria S. Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, 40 (Göteborg, 1973), 27 no. 13, figs. 13-15, with references to previous bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> Reclining satyr: Rhodes Archaeological Museum no. 1160; Merker, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 29 no. 55, figs. 37-39, with previous bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> The following account is a synthesis of the theories expressed by Hans Lauter, "Kunst und Landschaft—ein Beitrag zum rhodischen Hellenismus," *Antike Kunst*, 15 (1972), 49-59. Illustrations of the rock-bases are given on his pl. 15; a sketch plan of the Rhodini park is given as fig. 4 on p. 55. A criticism of Lauter's article appears in Merker, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 24 n. 90.

Given the uncertainty of the above argument, other monuments of proven or alleged Rhodian origin are mustered in confirmation of these naturalistic tendencies. Among them, the rock-cut ship of the Akropolis of Lindos (Fig. 4), which once supported an honorary statue, is perhaps the most relevant, but its connection is with the rock itself rather than with a park or garden.<sup>15</sup> Of the others, the Sperlonga groups are still controversial. They were certainly carved by the workshop of three Rhodian sculptors, according to the inscription on the ship, but their date is being hotly debated and I personally incline toward the theory that places them within the imperial period. Equally controversial is the question of prototypes: even granted that the material execution of the sculptures took place in the first century of our era, were the groups original creations or did they follow Hellenistic prototypes?

One item among the many works recovered from the grotto may seem to point toward the second solution. The almost complete figure of a sitting child, and the remains of two more, have recently been reconstructed as adorning the three sides of the square basin at the head of the fisheries which stretch out at the opening of the Sperlonga grotto (Fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> An identical figure (though perhaps a small satyr rather than just a child) and the remains of three more, have been found among the marbles from the Mahdia shipwreck, which is firmly dated to the beginning of the first century B.C. (Figs. 6–7). The small figures seem in the act of splashing water onto a viewer with their cupped hands, and they make playful adornment for a pool; their presence on the Mahdia ship would at least ensure that such decoration was being manufactured somewhere in the Greek world toward the end of the Hellenistic period, even if destined for the Roman market. On the basis of the resemblance between the Mahdia children and the so-called Goose-strangler by Boethos, it has, however, also been argued that the true Hellenistic prototype consisted of a single figure that was then reproduced in mul-

<sup>15</sup> The rock-cut ship of Lindos is not actually cited by Lauter, but is a well-known feature of the Rhodian city and often quoted in connection with sculpture in landscape. See, e.g.: B. S. Ridgway, "The Setting of Greek Sculpture," *Hesperia*, 40 (1971), 354 n. 74; Phyllis W. Lehmann and Karl Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections*, Bollingen Series, 92 (Princeton, 1973), 189, and 190 fig. 6.

<sup>16</sup> B. Andreae, "Schmuck eines Wasserbeckens in Sperlonga—Zum Typus des sitzenden Knäbchens aus dem Schiffsfund von Mahdia," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 83 (1976), 287–309, pls. 97–105; for the further adornment of the Sperlonga basin see also B. Conticello, "Di un putto marmoreo del Museo di Sperlonga," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 83 (1976), 311–317. Against the Rhodian manufacture of the Sperlonga epic groups see Merker, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 22 n. 35.

tiple and mirror-image versions to conform to the decorative taste of the Italian clientele. The setting of the original creation is therefore undetermined and, more to the point, this evidence can hardly be considered probant for the epic groups in the interior of the grotto.

The final supporting argument, the dramatic presence in landscape of the Nike of Samothrace (Fig. 8), can be considered weak on two counts. First, it has never been proved conclusively that the statue was made by a Rhodian sculptor, and, secondly, the elaborate arrangement of the setting with boulders and water filling the lower basin may have to be revised in the light of recent excavation.<sup>17</sup> Other comparable monuments are considerably less dramatic: the female figure adorning the prow of a ship in the Agora of Cyrene stood quite clearly in a shallow basin, but the naturalistic effect of the Nike of Samothrace must have been largely lost in the African monument because of the surrounding public buildings.<sup>18</sup> Other monuments incorporate elements of landscape within their own composition, but their very official or sacred character suggests that they stood in civic centers rather than in parks or private gardens. For instance, it has recently been argued that the Tyche of Antioch (Fig. 9), far from being a cult image in a temple, stood in the open, within a shallow, water basin that would have brought to full expression the rendering of the river Orontes at her feet as a swimmer within his own element.<sup>19</sup> The total composition would then be an allegory of the city in its physical layout, and would partake of the surrounding landscape. I agree with this intriguing vision but suspect that the very symbolic character of the sculpture would require its display in the heart of Antioch, perhaps its Agora, rather than in a "romantic" natural setting. That a religious garden, or a sacred grove, might have been a more plausible home for the sculpture seems doubtful because of the relatively recent status—around 300 B.C.—of a city's Tyche among the divinities.

A second sculpture appropriate for a sacred landscape, where water

<sup>17</sup> Nike of Samothrace: a recent account, which includes a review of both Greek and Roman ship monuments, appears in Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections*, 181–258, esp. 181–190; that the attribution of the monument to a Rhodian sculptor is doubtful is suggested in n. 14 on pp. 192–193. The results of recent excavations have not yet been published, but mentions have been made in public lectures.

<sup>18</sup> Cyrene monument: Ridgway, "Setting of Greek Sculpture," 353 and n. 70; Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections*, 196 and n. 23, 197 fig. 14 (without the female figure on the prow).

<sup>19</sup> Tyche of Antioch: the suggestion is made by E. Simon, "Götter- und Heroenstatuen des frühen Hellenismus," *Gymnasium*, 84 (1977), 348–368, esp. 351–354.

would have formed an element of the cult, like an attribute, is, according to another recent proposal, the so-called Crouching Aphrodite (Fig. 10).<sup>20</sup> Regardless of the true date and authorship of the piece, the position of the goddess, at times reproduced on a rocky base, suggests that she may be looking at her reflection in the water, a concept perhaps underlined by those copyists who put a mirror in the hands of their replicas. A sacred pool can be more readily visualized in the context of a sanctuary than in that of a private garden, but a location within an agora cannot be entirely excluded, at least in Hellenistic times. The many Roman copies of the composition were obviously used in different settings, but by then the meaning of the statue had probably shifted from sacred to entirely profane and quasi-genre.

Public places certainly satisfied many of the requirements of a modern park, without, however, giving an emphatic role to vegetation. In the hot climate of Greece trees were important for shade, and monuments erected for honorary purposes or for religious significance often happened to stand under a plant. Perhaps best known among the literary sources alluding to such matters is the anecdote of the soldier who left his money within the clasped hands of the statue of Demosthenes in the Athenian Agora, and found it intact upon his return some time later because falling leaves from a plane tree nearby had covered the coins.<sup>21</sup> The trees in the Agora were part of a program of embellishment established by Kimon in the early fifth century B.C., which to some extent suggests that trees and statuary were part of independent planning and growth, not of deliberate landscaping.

From the Athenian Agora comes a piece of archaeological evidence

<sup>20</sup> Crouching Aphrodite: Simon, "Götter- und Heroenstatuen," 355-359. The suggestion had already been made by Balázs Kapossy, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit* (Zürich, 1969), 88. I am convinced by the argument that Doidalsas of Bythnia has been erroneously associated with the type: see A. Linfert, "Der Master der 'Kauernden Aphrodite,'" *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 84 (1969), 158-164. Simon, "Götter- und Heroenstatuen," 356, objects to Linfert's reading of Pliny *HN* 36. 35 ("Venerem lavantem se sede alia stantem") because she interprets *stantem* as the equivalent of *positam*. If however the verb is taken to mean "standing up" as contrasted with seated or crouching, the *sede alia* could simply be an independent ablative of location. My colleague Gloria F. Pinney suggests to me that a more plausible emendation of Pliny's puzzling *sese dedalsa* may be *aede alia* rather than Linfert's *sede alia*.

<sup>21</sup> For the anecdote see *The Athenian Agora; Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (Princeton, 1953-) III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* by R. E. Wycherley (Princeton, 1957), no. 697; on Kimon's program of embellishment see *ibid.*, no. 718. See also *The Athenian Agora* XIV, *The Agora of Athens* by H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley (Princeton, 1972), 20 and n. 3, and p. 159. The statue of Demosthenes, by Polyeuktos, was erected in 280/279 B.C.

about private gardens: a fragment from a Corinthian vase (a skyphos) on which a Megarian of the sixth century B.C. (to judge from letter forms and alphabet) scratched a note to a friend: "Thamneus, put the saw under the threshold of the garden door."<sup>22</sup> This message would imply that house gardens existed as early as the archaic period, yet excavational proof is still lacking, despite the fact that we are now much better informed about Athenian houses than in the past.<sup>23</sup> Of the many residences brought to light by the archaeologists, not one had a courtyard which was unpaved and could be used for flowers or plants, unless they were of the potted variety. Even farmhouses at the outskirts of Athens or in the Attic countryside seem to have used their open spaces for those farming activities that required a paving. Cultivation must have taken place strictly outside the home.

Through the literary sources we learn that Theophrastos, a pupil of Aristotle, managed to buy a private garden shortly after the death of his teacher through the offices of Demetrios of Phaleron.<sup>24</sup> This garden Theophrastos dedicated to the Muses; it contained a shrine and statues of the goddesses, two stoas and some houses, an altar and honorary statues, as well as walks through the garden area. In the early third century some damage was caused by war events, so that at his death, around 287 B.C., Theophrastos felt it necessary to leave testamentary provisions for the completion of the works. It is tempting to visualize the area as a sort of three-dimensional "Apotheosis of Homer" relief,<sup>25</sup> but excavational evidence amounts only to a boundary stone confirming the name of the garden and standing today in the main square of Athens (Syntagma Square).

<sup>22</sup> *The Athenian Agora XXI, Graffiti and Dipinti* by Mabel Lang (Princeton, 1976), 8 no. B 1.

<sup>23</sup> For a recent summary of our knowledge of Athenian houses see Richard E. Wyckley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, 1978), 237-247, with diagrams and reconstructions, and bibliography. A full discussion of Greek houses appears in J. W. Graham, "Origins and Interrelations of the Greek House and the Roman House," *Phoenix*, 20 (1966), 3-31.

<sup>24</sup> On the Garden of Theophrastos and the boundary stone now in Syntagma Square see E. Vanderpool, "The Museum and Garden of the Peripatetics," *Archaiologikē Ephēmeris*, 1953-54 B, 126-128; John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971) 345, and figs. 447-448 on 347. Another garden was bought by Epikouros in 306 B.C. for 8000 drachmas (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, VII, cols. 761-841), but according to Pliny (*HN* 19.51) an earlier instance of a house with garden is that of Demosthenes' nephew. Hermippos, Perikles' opponent, mentions a garden door (*apud* Athen. 15.668a). However, these remain purely literary references, as contrasted with the cases here mentioned, for which some archaeological evidence is available.

<sup>25</sup> Relief by Archelaos of Priene ("Apotheosis of Homer" in the British Museum): see D. Pinkwart, "Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene," *Antike Plastik*, 4 (1965), 55-65, pls. 28-35; cf. also Ridgway, "Setting of Greek Sculpture," 350 and ns. 53-55.

Theophrastos's garden was connected with the philosophical school, the Lykeion, where Aristotle taught and where Lykourgos in the fourth century B.C. had built a palaistra and planted trees.<sup>26</sup> But the site was much earlier than the famous philosopher and was dedicated to Apollo Lykeios. A similar situation prevailed at the Academy, which is best remembered because of the teaching of Plato, but which had existed long before as the shrine of the hero Akademos, and which had been transformed into a veritable park by that same Kimon who had given plane trees to the Agora. In both cases the areas lay at some distance from the center of the city, and although they were connected with gymnasia and other facilities for athletics—therefore also attracting the philosophers in their quest for youthful listeners—they also contained a basic religious core which made them different from purely civic centers or private gardens. The shade and edification which such green spaces provided must have been quite appealing to athletes and students alike, so the association of parks with gymnasia was retained as a lasting feature and philosophers tended to buy gardens to connect with their schools; but the origin of the practice must be sought in the religious, rather than the utilitarian sphere.

It is in the area of divine gardens that excavational information is most abundant. Perhaps the best archaeological evidence comes from the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora; the temple was flanked by rows of trees planted within pots which had been sunk into cuttings of the bedrock. The finds from the area suggest that the garden was started in the early third century B.C. and continued at least until the Augustan period, but the type of tree that was planted in the pots could not be determined.<sup>27</sup> Some controversy also remains as to the divinity to whom the temple was dedicated. Hephaistos is not particularly known for his association with gardens, although he supposedly had a grove on

<sup>26</sup> Lykeion: Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 345. Academy: *ibid.*, 42–51, with plans and illustration of some finds. Cf. also the general discussion of gymnasia and philosophical schools in Wycherley, *Stones*, 219–235; for a discussion of such areas as hero burials and locations for gardens see the extensive account in M. Gothein, "Der griechische Garten," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 34 (1909), 100–144, esp. 116–136.

<sup>27</sup> For the Hephaisteion garden see the previously mentioned, fundamental article by Dorothy Burr Thompson, "The Garden of Hephaistos." A tentative suggestion was there advanced for possible planting in the various rows, which showed a different system of spacing; thus pomegranate and laurel were connected with the original layout, while vines and ivy may have been added after Sulla's destruction. However, this suggestion is not repeated in the *Garden Lore* booklet by Thompson. Another example of a sacred grove of olive trees and laurel has actually been excavated around an altar in the Agora: *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, 135.

Mount Aetna in Sicily. This was guarded by dogs who had the ability to discriminate between pure or impure visitors so that they could keep the latter at bay. But archaeological confirmation for either the garden or the dogs is still lacking. Charles Picard has utilized the evidence of the planting to suggest that the Hephaisteion is instead a temple to the Eleusinian goddesses, to whom a garden would be appropriate. However, since many other gods enjoyed gardens and groves in antiquity, an identification based exclusively on this feature does not carry conviction; only topography and future finds may help resolve the present controversy.<sup>28</sup>

Material evidence of a different kind can be adduced in support of the sacred grove of Apollo at Didyma. The entire colossal temple of archaic times consisted virtually of a colonnaded enclosure for a central space that housed the earliest shrine to the god as well as his sacred laurels. The later, Hellenistic phase of the building echoed the sixth-century arrangement and added elaborate Corinthian pilasters to the inner walls delimiting the open space in the center, so that the grove-like effect must have been enhanced by the architectural decoration. The laurels are no longer preserved, but the literary sources find striking confirmation in this unusual arrangement of a temple which resembles a temenos more than a cella.<sup>29</sup>

Arrangements of sculpture within a sacred landscape can also be attested for the archaic period. Most famous of all are, perhaps, the stylized lions, of probable Naxian origin, that stood on the terrace next to the Sacred Lake at Delos. It has been pointed out that their alignment and thus that of the terrace, correspond to the original orientation of the west shore of the Sacred Lake, as contrasted with its present,

<sup>28</sup> The garden of Hephaistos on Mount Aetna is mentioned by Thompson in *Garden Lore*; I owe to her kindness the ancient reference: Ael. *NA* 11.3; see also M. Rosaria La Lomia, "Il Giardino di Efesto," *La Parola del Passato*, 13 (1958), 241-244. For Charles Picard's suggestion that the temple is the Eleusinion because of its garden, see *Revue archéologique*, 11 (1938), 99-105. Evelyn B. Harrison attributes the building to Artemis Eukleia: "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81 (1977), 139 n. 14, and discussion on the possible location of the Hephaisteion on 421-426. For a grove planted near a temple of Artemis at Skillous, in the Peloponnesos, see Xen. *An.* 3.5.7-13; Xenophon dedicated the shrine and grove himself after returning from the East.

<sup>29</sup> Didyma: for the reconstruction of the Archaic temple see G. Gruben, "Das archaische Didymaion," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 78 (1963), 78-182; cf. also W. Hahland, "Didyma in 5 Jhrh. v. Ch.," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 79 (1964), 142-240; and W. Voigtländer, "Quellhaus und Naikos in Didymaion nach den Perserkriegen," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul*, 22 (1972), 93-112. A sacred spring was also included within the temple courtyard.



modern arrangement. The passageway between the retaining wall of the terrace and the rows of animals leads to the earliest entrance to the Letoon, but that shrine had not yet been built at the time when the lions were set up. It therefore remains uncertain whether they were votive offerings to Apollo or to his mother, Leto. In either case, their correlation with the Sacred Lake is indisputable, and they remain unique in Greek territory as an example of statuary lining a road. Significant also is the fact that one row, not two rows, of lions existed, thus weakening the comparison with Egyptian practices.<sup>30</sup>

The Sacred Lake and the presence of a palm tree (the famous palm tree which Leto grasped in giving birth to the divine twins) in that general area are supplemented by inscriptional reference to a garden of Leto.<sup>31</sup> We are therefore justified in listing Delos as an early example of sacred garden. A *kepos* is also mentioned in a rock-cut inscription within the Vari cave in Attica (Figs. 11–12).<sup>32</sup> Archedemos of Thera, around 400 B.C., declared himself *theoleptos* (“divinely enraptured”) and dedicated a garden to the nymphs within the cave itself. This cave was excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens in the early years of this century, and many votive objects were recovered from it attesting to a span of cult activities from the sixth to the second century B.C., with an interval during Roman times and a revival by Christian worshippers from the time of Constantine to that of Arcadius.

The cave is of difficult access, on the slopes of Mount Hymettos. It contains a spring and is divided into two chambers by a central spur of rock; niches, thrones, and altars were cut into the spur and the walls of

<sup>30</sup> For the Delian Lions see Bruneau and Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, no. 55; see also *ibid.*, no. 57, for the original arrangement of the Sacred Lake. From the fragments a minimum of nine and a maximum of sixteen animals could be reconstructed; the Letoon and its original entrance are discussed on pp. 110–112, no. 53 and fig. 19. The statues found along the sacred road to the temple at Didyma have now been eliminated as a possible parallel for the arrangement, since Klaus Tuchelt has plausibly argued that they originally stood elsewhere and were placed along the road only after the Persian destruction: *Die archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 27 (Berlin, 1970), 212–214.

<sup>31</sup> Garden “in front of the Letoon”: *Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1926–29), no. 1416, B, col. 2, ll. 49–52; cf. *Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'Ecole française d'Athènes* (Paris, 1909–) XXIV, *La Terrasse des Lions, le Letoon, et le Monument de Granit à Délos* by Hubert Gallet de Santerre (Paris, 1959), 119, no. 7.

<sup>32</sup> On the Vari cave, its finds and its layout, see the series of articles by Charles H. Weller and collaborators in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1930); the topography of the cave is described on pp. 263–288; the inscriptions on pp. 289–300; the marble reliefs on pp. 301–319. No recent publications have dealt at any length with the Vari cave, except for a summary entry in the *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, s.v. “Vari.”

the cave. In rock-cut inscriptions Archedemos states that he adorned the grotto for the nymphs; he not only carved a seated figure, sacred symbols (one of which resembles an omphalos), and dedications to Pan, Apollo, and other gods, but he also sketched out an image of himself holding mallet and chisel, probably the tools of his trade. What the garden consisted of, unfortunately, is impossible to say at present, but the statement of the inscription cannot be doubted.

Such cave shrines, with rock-cut niches containing votive reliefs and many individual offerings, have been found all over the Greek world. Their appearance, and often the presence of a spring, prompted the belief that they were inhabited by the nymphs, Pan and other divinities connected with water, such as Acheloos.<sup>33</sup> A type of votive relief was developed, primarily in Attica, showing three female figures being led by Hermes, often in the presence of Pan and Acheloos, within a rocky framework simulating the entrance to a cave. The female figures could be generic nymphs, but they are sometimes identified as the Charites. Many plaques of this kind have been found in the Vari cave; others with the same iconography come from Eleusis (Fig. 13), the cave of Pan on the north slopes of the Athenian Akropolis, and a cave on Mount Parnes, which has yielded a particularly complex and intriguing relief.<sup>34</sup> At the top a mountain god is shown as if emerging from the ground or as if partly hidden behind the edge of a cave; on a rocky ledge nearby, Pan stands with his right hand raised in a greeting gesture, while on the opposite side a satyr sits playing the syrinx. At the lower edge of the plaque a seminude figure reclines next to a goat: the cornucopia which he holds identifies him as the river-god Acheloos. Moving away from him, the familiar group of three mantled figures approaches a basin fed by a lion-head waterspout. What makes this relief intriguing is not only the amount of landscape portrayed and the many figures which people it, but the fact that the spout is actually pierced so that water may flow from it into the underlying basin. Other reliefs of this kind exist, as well

<sup>33</sup> For a partial list of caves to the nymphs in which reliefs have been found see Hans Peter Isler, *Acheloos* (Bern, 1970), 30–32; his catalogue of sculptures (pp. 123–129) includes several of the monuments here mentioned.

<sup>34</sup> Relief from Mount Parnes: Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 1879; for a discussion of the various dates given to this plaque by different scholars see R. M. Gais, "Some Problems of River-God Iconography," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 82 (1978), 359, fig. 9 and 360 n. 16. The dates proposed range from the mid-fourth to the first century B.C., with a Hellenistic date perhaps most probable.

as an entirely different type of dedication which consists of models of grottoes, some of a purely natural kind, others with waterspouts suggesting the channeling of springs. A cave sanctuary near Lokroi in southern Italy has yielded many such models (Fig. 14), including statuettes of naked women in a kneeling position. The particular rendering of the lower legs suggests that they may have stood in a pool of water, to emphasize their connection with the nymphs of the spring.<sup>35</sup>

The grottoes on the north slope of the Athenian Akropolis deserve particular attention in the context of sacred gardens and sculpture in landscape. The best known cave is perhaps that of Pan, whose cult was officially established after his help to the Athenians in the Battle of Marathon (Fig. 15).<sup>36</sup> Rock-cut niches attest to the presence of votive reliefs, and fragmentary plaques now in the Akropolis Museum have been recovered from the area. A less traditional sculpture can, however, also be tentatively associated with the site. The large, limestone head of a goat now in the Cleveland Museum has recently received some of the attention this remarkable piece certainly deserves.<sup>37</sup> It has been pointed out that the fragment of neck still preserved can hardly be completed with a traditional goat's body and that it is therefore likely that the caprine head belonged to a large-scale rendition of the god Pan in semihuman form. Since the sculpture, when acquired by the Cleveland Museum, was said to come from Athens, it is tempting to speculate that it came from the cave on the Akropolis, either as a cult image or as one of the earliest offerings to the god.

Farther east along the same slope of the Akropolis is the Shrine of Eros and Aphrodite, identified by rock-cut inscriptions. Empty niches and many individual finds attest to an array of votive offerings similar to that recovered from other cave sanctuaries, but a more remarkable form of embellishment, consisting of marble slabs carved with a frieze

<sup>35</sup> Lokroi grottos: Heinrich Fuhrmann in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1941, 650-663; Paolo Enrico Arias in *Notizie degli Scavi* 1946, 138-161; for illustrations of the figurines with simplified (or omitted) lower legs, see Leonard von Matt and Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, *Magna Graecia* (New York, 1962), 131 and figs. 124-125. The Lokroi grotto is also discussed by Norman Neuerburg, *L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica* (Naples, 1965), 33, figs. 2-10. Consult further Frank B. Sear, *Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics*, *Römische Mitteilungen Ergänzungsheft*, 23 (Heidelberg, 1977), 20-22 with notes.

<sup>36</sup> Cave of Pan on the Athenian Akropolis: Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 417-421, with plan and illustration of one of the reliefs from the cave.

<sup>37</sup> Limestone goat: Cleveland Museum no. 26.538; the theory that the head belongs to a statue of Pan is by H. S. Robinson, "A Greek Head—Animal or Hybrid?," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Sept. 1977, 231-241.

of Erotes carrying candelabra and ritual vessels, has been attributed to the grotto. It has also been noted that only one of the plaques can be dated to the second century B.C.; another, with slight differences in execution and in the spacing of the figures, seems to be a replacement piece of Roman times. What is even more remarkable, however, is that a fragment with a similar composition has been recovered from a shrine of Aphrodite at Daphni, near Athens, and seems undoubtedly earlier than either of the Akropolis plaques, presumably as early as the fourth century B.C. Given the correspondence in cult and appearance of the two shrines, Greek archaeologists have concluded that the Daphni sanctuary intentionally imitated the shrine on the Akropolis slope.<sup>38</sup>

The consequences of such parallels are far reaching. A fragmentary sculpture of the late fifth century B.C. from Daphni preserves the upper torso of a diaphanously draped woman with a peculiar projection at the level of her left armpit. It has been suggested that this rough area is what remains of a tree branch on which the goddess Aphrodite is leaning, as shown on a relief dedicated by a certain Theogenes that was also found at the site. The Daphni statue, being approximately life size, would be an appropriate cult image for the local shrine and, if the latter were patterned after the Athenian, should also echo the prototype on the Akropolis.<sup>39</sup> The cave on the north slope, being close to the underground passage near the House of the Arrephoroi, has been considered

<sup>38</sup> Shrine of Aphrodite and Eros: Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 228–232. The excavation of the grotto was carried out by Oscar Broneer: *Hesperia*, 1 (1932), 31–55; *Hesperia*, 2 (1933), 329–349; *Hesperia*, 4 (1935), 123–132. The marble plaques with a frieze of Erotes, Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 1451, are illustrated in Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, fig. 292; and Semni Karouzou, “Ελληνιστικά ἀντίγραφα καὶ ἐπαναλήψεις ἀρχαίων ἔργων,” *Archaiologikḗ Ephēmeris* 1956, 164–180 (also fragment Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 1452); for the Daphni fragment (Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 1591) see Karouzou, 165, fig. 2. The correlation between the two sanctuaries is suggested by Karouzou and also by A. Delivorrias, “Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni,” *Antike Plastik*, 8 (1968), 19–31. A parallel for the Erotes frieze in Athens can be found in a grave within the nekropolis of Korakonero, near the city of Rhodes. A horseshoe-shaped grotto is cut into the slope, and its rock walls are decorated with life-sized figures forming a Dionysiac frieze; the figures are not carved on separate plaques, but the total effect must have been comparable to the Erotes in Athens. The date of the Rhodian reliefs is tentatively given as second century B.C.; cf. Lauter, “Kunst und Landschaft,” 52–53. The similarity between the Athens plaques and the fragment from Daphni is unquestionable. What remains puzzling is the fact that the “branch” sanctuary at Daphni should have yielded the earlier evidence; the main sanctuary in Athens should have preceded the Daphni shrine in setting the decorative pattern, yet the Athenian plaques are approximately two hundred years later.

<sup>39</sup> Torso from Daphni: Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 1604; Delivorrias, “Die Kultstatue,” 19–31, discusses both the similarity with the relief by Theogenes (which he reproduces in a drawing) and the connection with the Aphrodite *en kepois* in Athens.

the Shrine of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the basis of Pausanias's account that the young Arrephoroi, in the dead of night, carried some sacred objects from the Akropolis to the sanctuary of Aphrodite "*en kepois*."<sup>40</sup> This sanctuary had traditionally been placed in the general area of the Olympieion, at some distance from the citadel, until the discovery of the cave prompted a different suggestion. Far from crossing the entire city in the dark while carrying some most sacred possessions, the girls would have descended only to the level of the Peripatos and accomplished their task at the much nearer sanctuary of Aphrodite on the north slope, which therefore would have been a "branch" of the one "in the gardens." To the objection that a garden would have had little scope for growth in the limited area of the Akropolis cave, one could answer that the epithet is only an allusion to the fertility of the goddess and her patronage of vegetation, rather than a realistic description of location.

Several difficulties however exist. Pausanias makes no allusion to Eros, who seems nonetheless to be the major occupant of the Akropolis cave. The presence of a tree next to an Aphrodite is inadequate evidence to identify the type as the Aphrodite in the Gardens, a famous statue which the literary sources attribute to Alkamenes. Other images of the goddess show her next to a tree, including a terracotta which reproduces the so-called Aphrodite of Fréjus, a late fifth-century type known through many replicas, in which some scholars had already proposed to see the Aphrodite *en kepois*; other authors believe that the cult image was not standing but reclining.<sup>41</sup> It seems safest to assume that the tree occurs in some compositions as a sculptural supporting device, as well as being an appropriate attribute for a divinity closely connected with love and fertility but without specific reference to her garden epithet. Finally, the case for the Akropolis shrine had been strengthened by the belief that an intentional duplication of the earliest cults in Athens existed on the citadel. This theory is now being increasingly chal-

<sup>40</sup> The ancient reference on the Arrephoroi is Paus. 1.27.3. The correlation between the ancient source and the shrine on the north slope of the Akropolis was first suggested by Broneer in *Hesperia*, 1, 2 and 4.

<sup>41</sup> Aphrodite of Fréjus next to a tree: Gérard Siebert in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 90 (1966), 718-720, pls. 8-9. That the cult image was reclining is suggested by Ernst Langlotz, *Aphrodite in den Gärten* (Heidelberg, 1954), who identifies as such the so-called Agrippina-Olympias. On this type see, most recently, A. Delivorrias, "Das Original der sitzenden 'Aphrodite-Olympias'," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 93 (1978), 1-23.

lenged, and it seems probable that the location of the shrine of Aphrodite *en kepois* should be sought exclusively in the area of the Ilissos river and the Olympieion. The Aphrodiseion at Daphni and the cave on the north slope remain interesting examples of shrines in a natural setting embellished by sculpture, but true gardens could occur only near the city wall where cultivation was made possible by the extent of the land and the availability of water.<sup>42</sup>

This peripheral location is in fact likely for another sacred garden, known unfortunately only through epigraphical evidence. An inscription of the early third century B.C. was found in Thasos on the facade of the lesche bordering one side of the sanctuary of Herakles at the foot of the Akropolis.<sup>43</sup> The building was used for the public display of official documents, and the inscription in question details the terms of lease for a garden of Herakles placed under the supervision of the priest of Asklepios. The conditions are onerous: in addition to paying the rent the tenant must periodically provide a bull for sacrifice, repair or even erect some structures on the grounds, including a wall and a latrine, and cultivate only specified plants: fig trees, myrtle, and hazelnut. In return he has the products of the field, access to public water for irrigation at certain hours of the day, and the use of some tools. Given this rather unbalanced contract, it has been suggested that these are unusual terms, including some exceptional building tasks not to be performed more than once. The real interest of the inscription lies in what we learn about the layout of the garden—not only the types of plants but also the presence of stoas and rooms containing no less than seven couches, obviously for ritual banquets to be enjoyed in the shade and fragrance of the trees. We are not told whether sculpture embellished the location, but Herakles seems an appropriate figure to erect in a garden: his final exploit consisted in securing the Golden Apples of the Hesperides, which stood for immortality and eternal bliss. It is tempting to think that the famous Herakles Farnese type (Fig. 16), or more mod-

<sup>42</sup> Doubts on the Akropolis shrine and comments on the location of the Aphrodiseion *en kepois* are expressed, e.g., in Wycherley, *Stones*, 176 and n. 4, and 172.

<sup>43</sup> Thasian garden: M. Launey, "Le verger d'Héracles à Thasos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 61 (1937), 380-409. Other inscriptions give us further information about sacred gardens given out for rent. One such document, of around 230 B.C., mentions a Boeotian garden given by a Sostratos to the Muses; it could be leased for cultivation, with the profits going to the cult. Many vegetable gardens are known to have existed in Boeotia under similar conditions and the practice is also attested for Asia Minor. Cf. M. Feyel, "Études d'épigraphie Béotienne," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 60 (1936), 389-415, esp. 409 and n. 1 for discussion of other gardens.

erate versions of this colossal statue, may have stood within some sacred or private garden, which the allusion of the apples held by the hero would have automatically defined as comparable to the Garden of the Hesperides.<sup>44</sup>

A youthful Herakles in a garden setting is represented on Attic vases and on a late fifth-century relief known through its Roman copies (Fig. 17). These monuments reflect a version of the story in which the hero obtains the apples not through Atlas but through one of the Hesperides who has fallen in love with him. Though some replicas show the three main personages (Herakles and two women) against an empty background, some add the apple tree with its guardian snake; this addition may be due to the whim of the copyist, but one cannot exclude the possibility that it may have belonged with the original, since Greek votive reliefs depict elements of genuine landscape more often than is usually believed.<sup>45</sup>

One such fragmentary relief, from Delphi, illustrates the setting for an open-air sanctuary different from the cave shrines but perhaps more garden-like in its appearance.<sup>46</sup> A large figure, presumably Dionysos, sits at the foot of a gnarled olive tree rendered in realistic terms. Beside the god stands a pillar: the upper part of the relief is missing, but it is likely that the pier supported a votive plaque such as we see in other votive panels or in our museums. Simple sanctuaries of this kind must have been scattered throughout the Greek countryside: under a few trees a statue on a pedestal, a votive offering next to it, perhaps an altar and an enclosure. Such images of rustic shrines appear on several reliefs, notable among which is the bronze plaque from Delos portraying Artemis accompanied by two satyrs.<sup>47</sup> The relief is unusual not only because of its early date (third century B.C.) and its material, but also

<sup>44</sup> Herakles Farnese type: for a recent discussion see C. Vermeule, "The Weary Herakles of Lysippos," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 79 (1975), 323-332.

<sup>45</sup> Relief of Herakles and the Hesperides: for a discussion which takes into account several Attic vases see E. B. Harrison, "Hesperides and Heroes: A Note on the Three-Figure Reliefs," *Hesperia*, 33 (1964), 76-82. Greek votive reliefs with landscape elements have been assembled in an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Geoffrey B. Waywell, "Landscape Elements in Greek Relief Sculpture" (Cambridge University, 1968).

<sup>46</sup> Mary-Anne Zagdoun, "Reliefs," *Fouilles de Delphes*, 4, fasc. 6 (1977), 23-27, no. 4; see esp. ns. 4-5 for representations of relief pinakes on stelai.

<sup>47</sup> See, e.g., Bruneau and Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 48 pl. 8:2; the two piers were found in the Sanctuary of Apollo near the fountain Minoa but they may come from the *prodomos* of the Philadelphion which later became a shrine of Agathe Tyche. For a photograph of the two marble piers see Ulrich Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin, 1960), 87, fig. 53.

because the stone pier to which it was fastened is extant, together with a second which probably held a matching plaque. Attic vases occasionally depict comparable scenes of worshippers placing garlands on herms that are identified by a tree in the background as standing in the open air.<sup>48</sup> A well-known Hellenistic relief in Munich shows a more elaborate setting; this time even the great plane tree which dominates the scene partakes of the religious spirit of the shrine since it is embellished with fillets.<sup>49</sup>

The practice of hanging not only ribbons but plastic figurines from branches is attested through the literary sources. The best-known occasion is, perhaps, the Athenian festival of the Anthesteria when dolls were suspended from trees in reminiscence of Erigone who hung herself in grief for her father's death.<sup>50</sup> According to local tradition, Dionysos had given Ikarios the gift of wine in return for gracious hospitality, but when Ikarios's subjects felt the effects of the new drink they believed themselves poisoned and killed Ikarios in revenge. Only too late did they discover the temporary nature of their illness: Ikarios was dead and so was his daughter, in whose commemoration they were instructed to swing and to hang images on trees. This account is likely to be purely etiological, but it confirms the practice of the hanging figures. Obviously none of them has been recovered in context, but it may here be tentatively suggested that they are the so-called jointed dolls for which no plausible explanation has as yet been found and which may have carried apotropaic connotations.<sup>51</sup> As for swinging, a red-figure vase by the Penelope painter shows a young girl being pushed on a swing by a satyr.<sup>52</sup> A three-dimensional parallel may exist in a fragmentary marble statuette from the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>53</sup> This archaic sculpture pre-

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., a column krater in Bologna, Museo Civico, by the Boreas Painter: John Davidson Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1963), 537, 12; Erika Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), 309, fig. 297.

<sup>49</sup> Munich relief: Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, 90-91, figs. 55-56; Munich Glyptothek no. 206.

<sup>50</sup> On the festival and the myth see, most recently, Herbert W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, 1977), 118-119.

<sup>51</sup> Jointed dolls: see, e.g., Reynold A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London, 1967), 75, pl. 31C. These figures were originally manufactured at Corinth, but they have a wide distribution and an Attic version seems to have been made during the fifth century B.C. Their identification as dolls is not certain. They have been found in sanctuaries of Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena, and Demeter: see K. McK. Elderkin, "Jointed Dolls in Antiquity," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 34 (1930), 455.

<sup>52</sup> The Skyphos by the Penelope Painter, in Berlin, is illustrated, e.g., in Parke, *Festivals*, fig. 45.

<sup>53</sup> Akropolis figure: Akropolis Museum no. 158 + 4834; Hans Schrader, Ernst Langlotz, and



serves the legs of a seated woman, as indicated by the bent knees and what remains of the thighs. Since, however, the back of the figure is as accurately finished as the front and no traces are preserved of the seat itself, it is tempting to visualize the statuette as placed on a (metal ?) swing, a form of seat which would also explain the unusually steep slope of the upper legs. Was the statuette once hung from a real tree in a sacred garden?

To conclude, we may review our scanty evidence. Though private gardens are mentioned by inscriptions and literary sources, they are not archaeologically attested otherwise, and domestic architecture, as known at present, seems to include no space for pleasure fountains and greenery. Individual pieces of sculpture suggest such landscape setting, but their original context cannot be determined. We are better informed on religious gardens, which are of two varieties: the cultivable type, which could be rented out for profit while also being a pleasant gathering place, and the rustic shrine, where statuary and trees co-existed without definite planning. A subspecies of this latter type consisted of natural grottoes embellished by rock-cut sculpture, votive offerings, and, as it seems, at times also by gardens. Finally, public places, like gymnasia or philosophical schools, were connected with gardens and shaded walks, but in almost all cases they included also a shrine to a deity or the tomb of a hero. It is generally stated that garden-ranking divinities are "the gods of life": Aphrodite, Dionysos, Eros, Asklepios, Herakles, and Adonis.<sup>54</sup> It should perhaps be stressed that the last two named, albeit associated with immortality and resurrection, are also specifically known for their tragic deaths. It is interesting to note that the closest Greek approximation to our romantic landscape with statuary was, in fact, the cemetery. Family plots were embellished not only with marble monuments but also with trees and flowers, and they were occasionally provided with watering wells and even dining pavilions so as to form true, if unconventional, gardens where the living could commune with the dead. Such inspirational settings, as well as the many sacred groves and natural shrines, should perhaps be considered the antecedents of the Roman gardens.

Walter Herwig Schuchhardt, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1939), 114 no. 63, and 115 figs. 68 a-c.

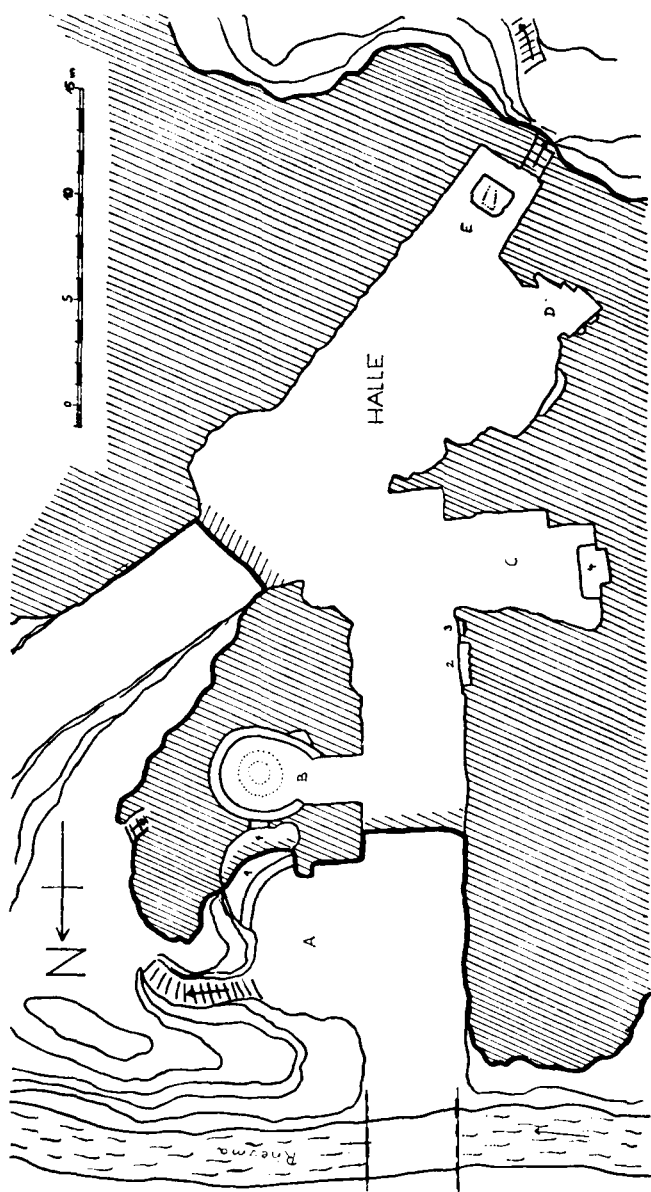
<sup>54</sup> This statement is made by Charles Picard in *Revue archéologique*, 11 (1938), 104; the opinion is shared by Grimal. The so-called Gardens of Adonis have not been discussed in this paper because they are mainly known through literary sources and have no connection with sculpture.



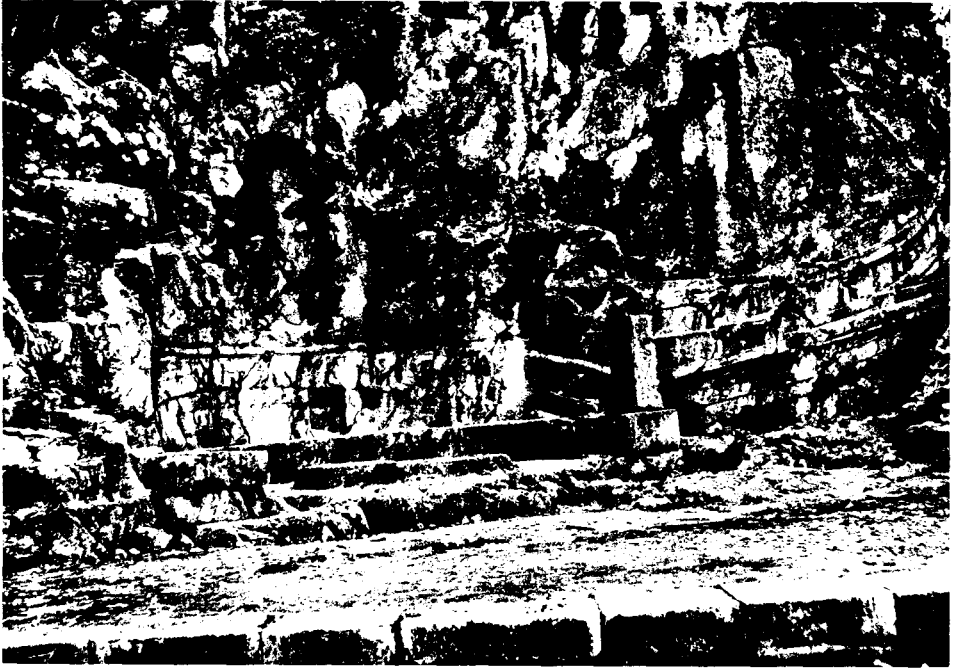
1. Nymph, Rhodes Archaeological Museum  
(photo: G. S. Merker)



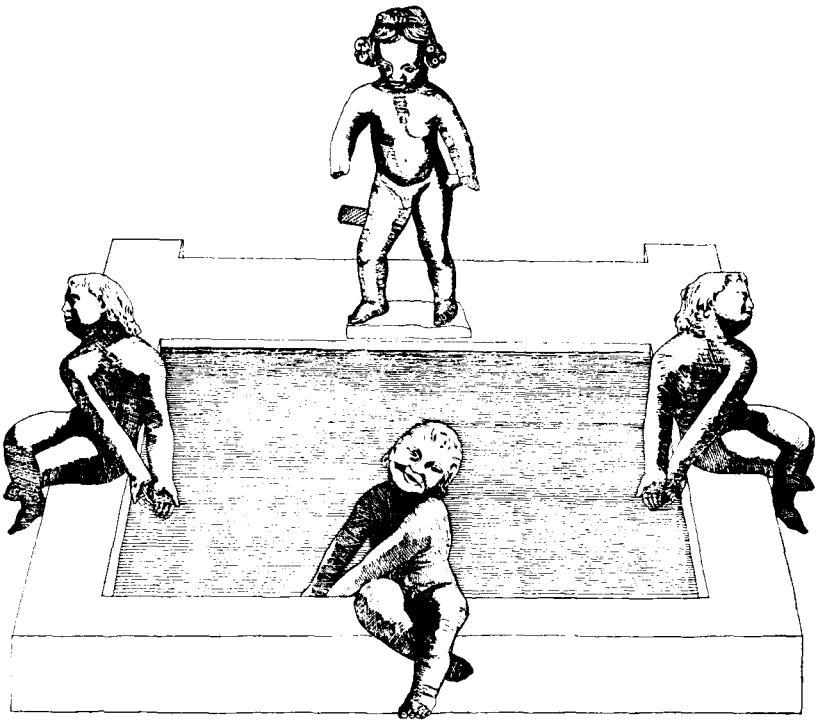
2. Rocky statue base, Rhodes, after Hans Lauter, *Antike Kunst* 15 (1972) pl. 15:2



3. Plan of Rhodini "park," Rhodes, after Hans Lauter, *Antike Kunst* 15 (1972) 55 fig. 4



4. Rock-cut ship and statue base, Lindos (Rhodes) Akropolis



5. Reconstruction of fountain ornaments, Sperlonga, after  
Bernard Andreae, *Mitteilungen des deutschen  
archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*,  
83 (1976), 295 fig. 1

6. Front view of a small satyr from the Mahdia shipwreck, Tunis, Bardo Museum, after Werner Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (Tübingen, 1963) pl. 62

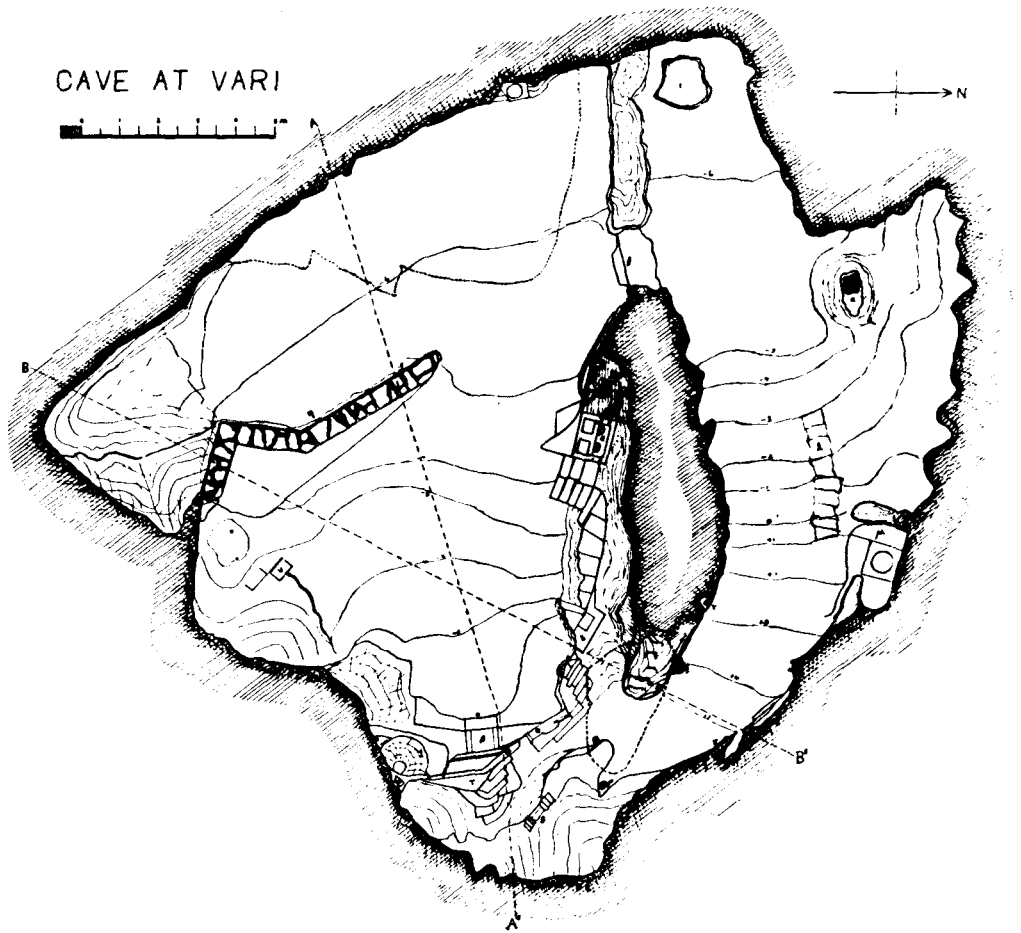


7. Back view of Fig. 6, after Fuchs, pl. 63

9. Tyche of Antioch, copy in the  
Vatican Museum (photo: Bryn  
Mawr College)

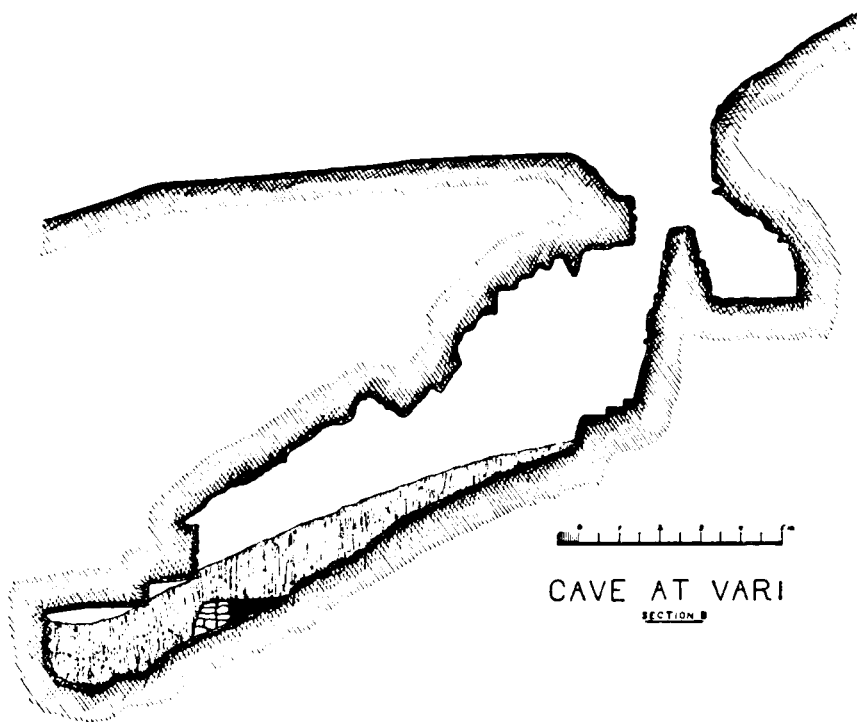
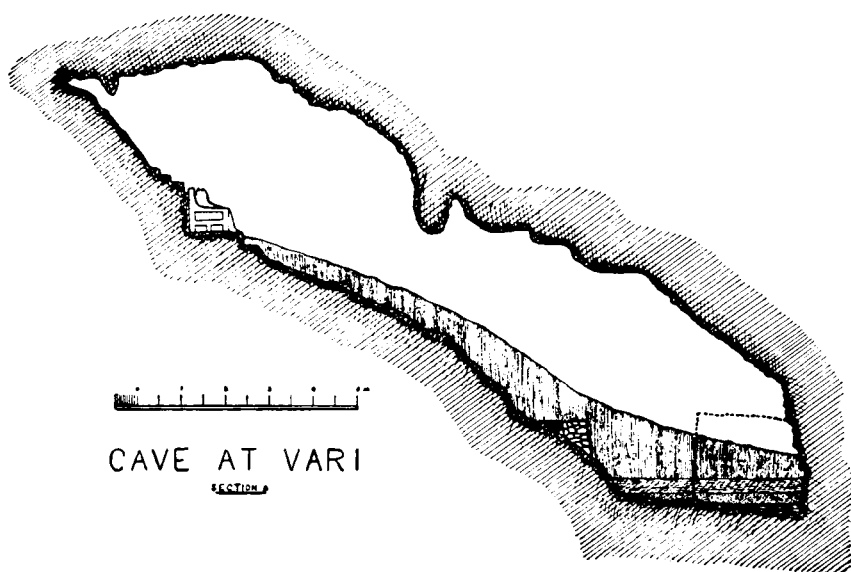


10. Crouching Aphrodite, copy in  
the Palazzo Aldobrandini, Florence  
(photo: *Einzel-Aufnahme* no. 4058)



11. Plan of the Cave at Vari, Attica, after *American Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1903) pl. I





12. Sectional drawings of the Cave at Vari, Attica, after *American Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1903) pl. II

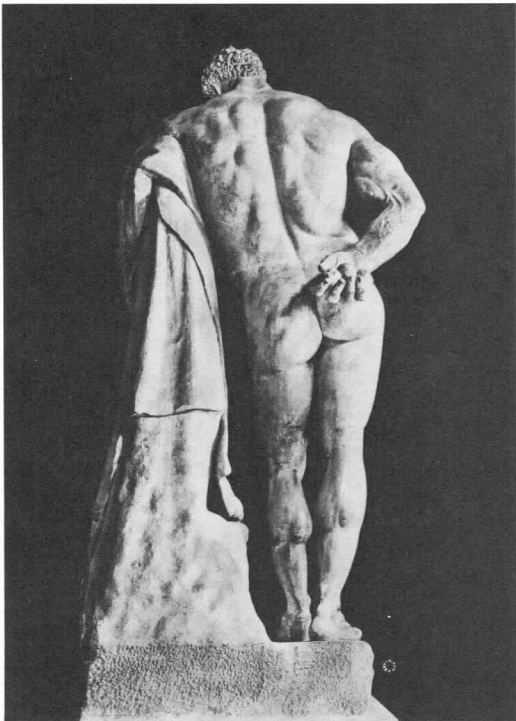


13. Votive Relief of Pan and the Nymphs, from Eleusis, Athens, National Archaeological Museum no. 1445 (photo: same)

14. Model of a spring grotto from a cave sanctuary near Lokroi (photo: Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale)



15. A traditional representation of Pan, Athens, National Archaeological Museum no. 251 (photo: same)



16. Rear view of the Herakles  
Farnese, Naples, Musco Nazionale  
(photo: Anderson)



17. Relief of Herakles in the Garden  
of the Hesperides, Rome, Villa  
Albani (photo: Anderson)